The
COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XXXIX January 7, 1944 NUMBER 12

THE WEEK 291
THE CASE OF JOHN LONGO Francis Gabriel 294
PEACE WITH GERMANY F. W. Foerster 297
LABOR ON TRIAL John C. Cort 300
COMMUNICATIONS 304
THE STAGE Kappo Phelan 304
THE SCREEN P. T. Hartung 305
BOOKS OF THE WEEK 306
Great American Paintings from Smibert to Bellows—A Treasury of Russian Literature—The Complete Etchings of Goya
THE INNER FORUM 308

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and Catholic Bookman.*
Published at 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.—AS. 4-9685
Annual Subscription: U. S., $5.00; Canada and Foreign, $6.00
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The Duration

LAST WEEK we pointed out in these columns that because of the substantial absence of planning for the post-war conversion of our industry, it seemed safe—if tragic—to say that the continuance of the war beyond the 1944 election gives promise of a better solution of internal problems than would a prompter cessation of hostilities. Yet to say this much is rather to criticize inactivity in Washington than to suggest that the continuance of the war is in any way desirable *per se*. The great lack in Washington is the lack of positive leadership in home front activities; perhaps the President will for a time leave the conduct of the fighting war to the generals and admirals and will devote the next few months to untying the snarls in our internal economy, as well as to meditating the peace; certainly he would be well advised to do so.

The long continuance of the war may possibly spare America a degree of internal chaos at the expense of heartrending losses among our fighting men; it will spare the rest of the world nothing and will merely make more desperate the outlook for the peoples of Europe. It is therefore wholeheartedly that we second the Pope's Christmas prayer for as prompt a peace as possible, for, on balance, the continuance of the war can only accentuate the problems of peace and make their solution more difficult. Every day the inhabitants of the occupied countries become more ill-nourished, and the scars of starvation are more indelibly imprinted upon the young people of those lands. Every day there is more physical destruction and the problem of reconstruction becomes more complex. Every day the breach widens between representatives of the European peoples dwelling in this country or England and those peoples themselves, under the German yoke. Reports indicate that Mussolini's puppet government in Northern Italy has actually turned socialist—factories are being handed over to the workers—and that a distinct anti-clerical line is emerging, with the arrest and sentencing of priests and secret police searchings of monasteries as a symptom of the change. All this is being used for propaganda in those parts of Italy which are in our possession, with the purpose of making Mussolini look like the true populist and ourselves, the imperialist grabbers. This may or may not constitute an attempt on the part of the nazis to persuade the Russians that after all they are brothers under the skin and that Russia has chosen strange bedfellows. In any case it is reported that this new propaganda line has not been without effect in Southern Italy.

This means that every week, every month the war continues, the greater will be the difficulties of finding political solutions acceptable to the peoples involved. Of course this does not mean that a "white" peace would be a desirable solution either, for that would merely give the aggressors a chance to start all over again without let or hindrance. But it does mean that we must pray that military events move rapidly, and that we have a duty as a nation to give Germany some sort of way out, so as to avoid the psychology of desperate last stands prompted by our endless talk of "unconditional surrender."

As we enter this new year, it is hard indeed to see much chance of a happy future. More and more the practical possibility of the sort of federation to which all of us looked so yearningly as an outcome of the war seems to recede into dreamland. More and more the power of nationalism increases, and the present general line of the United Nations, which consists of world hegemony on the part of four powers presently held together more by their shared enemies than by their natural friendship or community of interest, takes on the aspect of an expedient—and a rather old-hat expedient at that. No, the future does not look bright. Yet just as our dreams never come true in anything resembling their full perfection, so our fears are never realized in anything like their terrible presentiments. In that thought alone is there some degree of hope, is there a reason for refusing to despair.

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1944 *Prospect*

HUMAN reluctance to face disagreeable reality is understandable enough, as is the wartime tendency to slacken, out of self-satisfaction, lack of enthusiasm or sheer weariness. But such factors aside, it is difficult to see how Americans can view the immediate future with over-optimism. The slogan, "victory in 1944," does not mean that victory will be won cheaply.

Consider certain aspects of our present situation. The President himself disclosed on Christmas Eve that 3,800,000 Americans are now overseas and that by summer our armed forces in foreign lands will number 5,000,000. Observers agree that according to present military plans American soldiers are to comprise the majority of the forces invading the European Continent from the West. Certain Senators say that the proportion is as high as 73 percent of the invading troops. Our men are also at present carrying on the brunt of the offensive against Japan in the South Pacific and will presumably continue to, when operations are stepped up.

When an unnamed government official predicted half a million American casualties in the invasion of Europe alone, he was accused of all sorts of wild imagining. But the proportion of casualties among invading troops is notoriously high. When it is recalled that our plans call for attacking in full force, there is unfortunately nothing at all fantastic in such an estimate. Even the best laid plans, the most thorough preparations cannot foresee everything. And as recently as at Tarawa, or in the surprise attack on our ships at Bari, our air superiority did not prevent the tragic slaughter of our men. The half million estimate is only another way of making explicit what Mr. Roosevelt means by the high cost, the "large casualty lists ahead."

Currently General Peyton C. March, former United States Chief of Staff, declares that "the war hasn't even started" for us. German (and Russian) casualties run into the millions. Can Americans, then, expect to play a leading rôle in defeating Germany in the field without paying the terrible price? Behind are months of painstaking preparation; this spring will be the zero hour and our superiority in planes, mobility, matériel and spirit will be brought into play against a more experienced enemy fighting desperately for what he believes is national, if not personal, existence. Our confidence in our men and matériel, and in our prospects of ultimate victory in the field, as well as the opportunity we still have to set up a more lasting peace, should not blind us to the cost.

There is a presidential election in 1944. There are rationing, strikes, fuel scarcities and a score of other problems. But overshadowing them all is the fact that the United States will be fighting in full force after months of comparatively uneventful preparation. The impending 1944 casualty lists had better be faced now. There is no surer antidote for over-optimism.

Greater Opportunity for the Russian Church

CONFIRMATION of THE COMMONWEAL'S repeated contention that persecution of the Orthodox Church has given way to support for a subservient State-Church comes in a long despatch to *Time* magazine. There has not been much news since late September, when a council of bishops was constituted with government permission and proceeded to express its gratitude to Stalin and excommunicate "everyone guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and deserting to the side of fascism as an enemy of the Cross of God."

That the Soviet Government is serious in its relaxation of restrictions against the Orthodox Church is indicated by several new developments related in the *Time* story, which was apparently gathered at first hand. For the first time since the Revolution, the Bible is again being printed. Within the past month the Soviet Government has permitted the Orthodox Church to open a seminary for the training of priests. The Society of the Militant Godless has long been disbanded and the two principal anti-religious papers have suspended publication "due to a sudden paper shortage."

In other words the Russian Orthodox Church is slowly regaining the means whereby it can operate openly and perpetuate itself. Apparently subservience to the Soviet régime is the price for these minima of existence. The hope is that in teaching and preaching unhindered once again, the Orthodox Church will be able in some measure to bring the Good Tidings of the Gospel to the present Russian generation.

For the Feast of the Epiphany

COUNT ALBRECHT MONTGELAS, a German prisoner of war (not a soldier, but a German citizen interned after the outbreak of war by the British government) writes us from Canada: "I have followed with interest your fight against racism. But, are Catholics free from the sin of acquiescence? Last Christmas a friend of mine procured for me from New York a paper crib, complete with shepherds, sheep, Magi and camels. Now there is in Christendom an old, a holy and, considering the earthly mission of the Holy Child, very significant tradition that one of these Magi who followed the star to Bethlehem was *black*. The art of Occidental Christendom has always followed that tradition. The three holy kings of the 'made in USA' crib were all of them white."

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Soldier's Return

THEY TRIED to tell us that they were tired. They wrote the real books about the war after the war was over when they could say the truth, and these books written by Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans said that the French, the English, the Americans were tired. From August 1914 to November 1918, that was a long war. From November 1918 to September 1939, that was not a long peace. The men who were tired in 1918 had not even had time, all of them, to die. Of course a great many men were killed before 1918 and many died between the two wars, but there were a great many Frenchmen, for instance, who had seen the Marne and Verdun and who lived on to see Sedan; there were a great many Englishmen for instance who had seen Loos and La Bassée and who lived on to see Dunkirk; there were a number of Americans, for instance, who had seen the Argonne and who lived on to see Italy invaded.

The French were the most tired of all. They were the most tired of the war; they had had more of the war than the English or the Americans; they had had more than enough of the war. That is why they talked about security. That is why there was that joke about the Poles who always talked about the Polish question and the French who always talked about French security. The English and the Americans were tired of the war; the English and the Americans went home; they picked themselves out of the mud and they went home with their victory. They said it was France's victory also, and before they went home they marched under the Arc de Triomphe and down the Champs Elysées — the Highlanders, the Guards, the Americans—they looked very brave, they looked as though they were not tired, they looked as if they were a brand new army and there was no question about its being a victory and there was no doubt that it was peace. The British and the Americans marched through Paris and then they disappeared. They went home and discovered that they were tired, that they were too tired to bother about the French who were more tired than they were. They were too tired to bother about French security or even to keep the promises they had made about French security.

They thought that the Germans were as tired as anyone else—as tired of war.

The British and the Americans are not yet back in France, but they will be back in France. Already they are back in the war, already they are back on the continent, already they are fighting again on the continent. They were tired of war by the time the other war ended and now already after a few years, during which they refused to think of war, they are back in the war again and they are once again tired of war, once again they are experiencing the fatigue of war, they want to get the war over again so that once more they can leave the continent of Europe and come home again and forget again about the war.

"The simple fact is that the war is lasting too long. . . . World War I lasted nineteen months from the time the United States got in. This one has already lasted two years, and the end is not in sight. Separation from home, hardships, dangers get harder and harder to bear as months and years pass by. . . . As a general proposition we can say that war equals fatigue, and the longer it lasts the greater does fatigue become." That is Herbert Matthews writing in the New York *Times* (December 26) about the mud and the mountains of the Italian campaign. Mr. Matthews also says this: "From the Burma Hills to the Appenines, this correspondent has found that American boys hate war. They were the same way in the last war and will doubtless be the same always. The United States is 'God's Country' to any doughboy, and he doesn't go fighting all over the world out of choice, and the sooner it is over with him, the better it is for him."

Of course. There is no argument about it. There is this war and the sooner it is over, the better it will be. There is this war and the fatigue of this war and those who do not die will parade in victory and then they will come home. They will come home and once again they will be tired, tired of war.

It is like a dream; it is like a nightmare. The British and the Americans are tired now in the war, but nothing will stop them until they have won the war and ended the war. But when the war is ended, the British and the Americans will be tired of war, as they were tired of war after the last war was over. The British soldiers and the American soldiers will go home again. They will leave the French and the Germans in Europe again. Once again the French will be tired of war, more tired of war than can be any other people, more tired of fighting, imprisonment, starvation, more tired of disappointment.

The British and the Americans will come home tired of war. They will be too tired to care much about the French. They will take measures about Germany. They will do that. That is the whole point of the war.

That, however, was the point of the last war.

It is like a nightmare. In a few years there will be men living who will not know what battle was in what war, and when they remember the time when they hoped for peace, they will not know whether it was when Wilson spoke, or Briand, or Roosevelt. It will be like a nightmare until we destroy this senseless repetition, this parallelism, until we break out of this dream.

C. G. PAULDING.

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The Case of John Longo

A little fellow takes on the boss

Francis Gabriel

JOHN R. LONGO was born thirty years ago in New York. His parents were Italian immigrants. They moved to Jersey City when he was three and ran a little fruit store in a poor section of the city known as "the Junction." Several children had come before John and several came after him. The total was nine. At the usual age, John went to Public School 12. He lived the usual schoolboy's life, except that he was a little more reckless. With eight brothers and sisters, he learned the give and take of social existence. On the not too clean streets of his neighborhood, he turned over his share of ash-cans, was chased by cops and hitched on trolleys and trucks. He was typical of the poor boy of an American city, or any city. His parents wanted him to be somebody in America, at least in Jersey City, so they sent him to public high school. He was a smart kid. He looked promising to them. He could even speak English without an accent.

John was a freshman at Lincoln High in 1928. That year he met an older boy named J. Owen Grundy, who was to be a bosom friend and mentor until early in 1943. Grundy was interested in junior political activities. He was in the younger Republican ranks, opposed to Mayor Frank Hague, the Democratic "boss" of Jersey City and Hudson County and the state. Grundy saw a little flame in Longo. He enlisted the slim, good looking and intelligent little Italian boy in the anti-Hague fight. Fifteen-year-old Longo made a few juvenile speeches in the heat of election campaigning. He distributed leaflets and hung up posters on poles and fences. His parents, staunchly Democratic, were denounced by neighbors and friends for having a son "associated with black, APA Republicans." But John was stubborn. And a smart boy, thought his parents; but someday he'll get himself in trouble.

Longo wasn't robust. His health made him lose time from school. So he graduated only in 1933. By that time he was steeped in an anti-Hague spirit that has never been prominent, or popular, in Jersey City. That year, deeply interested for some time in getting more political recognition for voters and political candidates of Italian extraction, Longo volunteered to speak in New York City, across the Hudson, to help in ex-Congressman Fiorello La Guardia's campaign for mayor. He was often featured there as "the boy orator of the campaign." For nearly four years after his high school graduation Longo continued to step up his political activities. He also served as a leader in Italian youth organizations. He often spoke out against Hague and the powerful Democratic machine the Boss had built and controlled with an iron hand since 1917. But Longo seemed unimportant to Hague and was ignored, just as in 1933, when he had the temerity to go with Grundy to the city hall and present the mayor and commissioners with a long list of sinecures on the public payroll. In 1935 Longo was so ignored by the Boss that a Hague state assemblyman, president of the Holy Name Society of Longo's Italian parish, appointed him as delegate to the county Holy Name Federation. Early in 1937, Longo was awarded a plaque by a club connected with the International Institute, an affiliate of the Y.W.C.A., as "the outstanding young American of Italian extraction in Jersey City."

That marked the end of Longo's unimportance to Hague, though the award had nothing to do with Longo's further moves against the Boss. By September, 1937, John Longo, then 25 years of age, was establishing himself as a prolific source of anti-Hague letters to the editor for local and other newspapers. He helped organize a county citizens' committee and two other anti-Hague groups. He established and was leader of the "Young Democrats Marching With Roosevelt," but filed two petitions in vain to get its county ticket on the Democratic primary election ballot in opposition to Hague.

In 1937 Longo infuriated Hague by a widely publicized survey he made to indicate that Hudson County had in the November elections produced at least 50,000 fraudulent votes to reelect Governor A. Harry Moore, a Hague organization man, to his third term by a state plurality of 45,000 votes. The election results were being hotly challenged by the defeated Republican candidate, Dr. Clee, a Protestant minister. Hague's police successfully guarded the poll books from an investigating committee of the state legislature. Dr. Clee was unable to cope with Hague and the Democratic machine. He finally gave up the

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fight, and Moore served as New Jersey's only three-time governor. Longo, who is an ardent Roosevelt supporter but usually votes Republican in local elections as an opponent of Hague, had campaigned strongly against Moore and frequently spoke over the radio during the contesting of Moore's election.

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In the midst of that post-election struggle, the CIO announced plans to "invade" Jersey City. Hague broke up every attempt the union organizers made. Longo answered the call of the CIO for help to back its plan to organize the unorganized workers there. About the same time he was elected secretary of the Holy Name Society of Our Lady of Sorrows Church. Meanwhile, Mayor Hague was making his notorious fight to prevent the "Red invasion," of what he called "New York communists and radicals."

In predominantly Catholic Jersey City and Hudson County, Hague worked the communist issue for all he could. But Longo, in January, 1938, spoke over a New York radio station, at the request of Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris Ernst, CIO counsel. In his broadcast, Longo declared he was speaking as a Catholic and said Hague's issue was false, that the issue was "not communism *versus* Catholicism, but fascism *versus* democracy." Next day, Longo's pastor publicly ousted him as Holy Name secretary. The ouster was rescinded by the priest next day, after Longo went to see him, but it soon brought a letter from Monsignor John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University, who declared: "The workers have a right to organize and labor organizers have a right to help them regardless of the identity or affiliation of their friends." Monsignor Ryan also called Hague's "documentation" — Mrs. Elizabeth Dillings's book, "The Red Network," —"disgraceful" and a "vicious influence." He said anyone relying on it to prove anything "completely discredits his intelligence." The letter was widely publicized, and Longo was given regular time on the New York station.

Hague was enraged. Longo was indicted and convicted within a few months on a charge that one of the election petitions he had vainly filed in August, 1937, to get his anti-Hague ticket on the Democratic primary ballot, bore false names. During the trial and long after it, Longo's lawyer put up a strong but losing fight to prove the whole case was a frame-up and the jury hand-picked and controlled by Hague. Longo was sentenced to nine months at hard labor in Hague's county penitentiary.

No sooner was Longo out of prison, in January, 1939, with six weeks off for "good behavior," than he became active again in the anti-Hague fight. In June, 1939, the right of free assembly and free speech in Jersey City and the right of the CIO to organize freely was upheld by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. Longo himself then organized one CIO local in Jersey City, much to Hague's embarrassment and voiceless wrath. The young Hague foe also helped organize a "victory rally" in Jersey City. Hague didn't interfere with that one, and Longo spoke his piece. Heywood Broun was principal speaker. Longo's next step was to accept a position in the office of the Hudson County superintendent of elections. This office had been established by a Republican legislature as an instrument against Hague and was Republican in makeup.

Longo also went to Washington after his release from prison. He saw Attorney General Frank Murphy about his case and asked for a federal investigation. Murphy unhesitatingly called a spade a spade when, speaking over a nationwide hookup, he declared: "A young man who actively opposed the boss of the local political machine was indicted on a false charge. He was tried and convicted by a jury consisting entirely of persons connected politically with the leader." Murphy later initiated an investigation. Two FBI men who spent five months on the case in 1939 were reported in the press to have found enough evidence to seek 45 indictments, but none of the 130 witnesses, including Hague freeholders and police officers, could be induced to testify in open court. The New York *Sun* later said, "Mayor Hague came out for a third term for the President and somehow the investigation seemed to melt away."

Longo, however, carried on. In 1940, when Hague was trying to have Jimmy Cromwell nominated to run in the Democratic primaries for US Senator from New Jersey, he amassed thousands of names on petitions. Longo investigated them and charged the petitions were "polluted with fraud and forgeries"; he wanted to show that the Hague organization was guilty of the very offense for which it had "framed" him.

The greatest blow struck in many years against the Hague machine was in 1942, by the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, which Longo helped organize. Governor Charles Edison, Democrat, whom Hague helped elect in 1940 but who became an open enemy after he refused to be Hague's tool, was induced by Longo and the committee, comprising highly reputable citizens, to destroy Hague's all-important county board of taxation. Edison ousted the entire board and appointed a new one, including Longo's closest and most able colleagues. In the past year, the new tax board has cut sky-high Jersey City real estate assessments by $100,000,000, presenting the expensive Hague machine with a serious threat to its existence.

To top off that victory, Longo induced Gov-

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ernor Edison early this year to make it possible for him to become deputy clerk of Hudson County. Edison made a deal within the Hague organization whereby a new county clerk, appointed to fill a vacancy caused by death, braved the Boss's wrath and made Longo deputy clerk. Longo was sworn into office on the same day of the same month he had been indicted five years before, and in the same courtroom. Hague was again enraged. With the lightning speed of "Jersey justice," Longo was deposed and, in April, before he could open his mouth, was indicted by the grand jury, once more charged with violation of an election law.

Longo was convicted November 15. At the trial his counsel termed him "the victim of the most outrageous frame-up in the annals of Hudson County." He was quickly sentenced to serve 18 months to three years in state prison. But his lawyer then produced sensational evidence suppressed by the prosecution at the indictment and trial. Longo promptly won a certificate of reasonable doubt from the chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court and was released on $5,000 bail, pending appeal.

He is not fighting alone; his case has been catapulted into national prominence. Many thousand appeals for a federal investigation have gone to Attorney General Francis Biddle. Most of them came from outside New Jersey. They demand action on a petition, which was sent to Biddle after Longo's conviction, from the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, and which charges public officials and others in Jersey City and Hudson County with criminal conspiracy in "the persistent suppression of civil rights." The petition asks for a federal investigation and "relentless prosecution" of those guilty. Documented evidence on six specific cases, including Longo's, has been given to the Attorney General. The American Civil Liberties Union has seconded the petition.

Here is the substance of Longo's conviction: he was charged with having altered his voting record for the 1941 primaries, in order to make it appear that he had voted as a Democrat instead of as a Republican, and thus help his chances of getting an appointment from the Democratic, anti-Hague governor. The alteration was allegedly made on January 20, 1942, while Longo was still employed in the office of superintendent of elections. His former bosom friend and colleague, J. Owen Grundy, was indicted with Longo last April. Grundy pleaded guilty and was the prosecution's star witness. Grundy testified that at Longo's request and in Longo's presence, he erased *Rep* after Longo's name and substituted *Dem*. Five other Republicans employed in the bureau testified they saw the altered record later, before one of them, in line with his duty, erased the false *Dem* and changed it back to the correct *Rep*.

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The sensational evidence produced by Longo's counsel after the conviction is a report from a New York expert on disputed documents, August Hartkorn, who had been engaged by Hague's prosecutor before Longo's indictment to corroborate the testimony of the five witnesses who said they saw Longo's altered voting record. Hartkorn swore to Governor Charles A. Edison of New Jersey at a private hearing November 18 that he had given his report to the prosecutor February 22. It was never brought up either at Longo's indictment or his trial. Accompanied by photographs of the voting record before and after chemical examination, Hartkorn's report was that the false designation *Dem* had *never* been on the record but that *Rep* had been eradicated and replaced with another *Rep* directly over it.

Longo has publicly accused Grundy of having perjured himself to escape the Hague "frame-up" against them. He has declared that, for one thing, Grundy was promised draft exemption for his testimony. Longo was tried and convicted without benefit of counsel. Two able lawyers took the case for him shortly before the trial. They requested a postponement to give them sufficient time to prepare a defense. The Republican judge, appointee of a Hague man, former Governor A. Harry Moore, ordered the trial to proceed. No defense was offered. Longo himself refused to "participate" in what he called in open court a "Hitler trial." He was convicted within a few hours. No emphasis had been laid on the point that the five witnesses who corroborated Grundy's testimony about the change he had made in the voting record at Longo's request and in Longo's presence had known of the "crime" a whole year before any charge was made. The all-Republican testimony to convict Longo was seemingly a true gem in the Hague show-case, but examined in the light of the Hartkorn report it looks like paste.

Here is an amusing side-light: This past month, during the current "Longo case" and the parade of support to Longo by progressive forces, the Communists turned in a typical performance. Five years ago, when Hague was their hated enemy, the *Daily Worker* clamored in support of Longo, then "railroaded" by Hague. How different now. The party-line on Hague since the CP approved him early in 1943 can be stated: back Hague for unity to win the war and win Jersey for a fourth term for F.D.R.

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After Longo's conviction in November, Governor Edison conducted private hearings. The

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first public thing he did in the matter was to release to the press Hartkorn's damning testimony. The Hartkorn report, suppressed both at Longo's indictment and trial, received page one publicity in nearly every newspaper in the state.

Shortly after, Edison made his big move against Hague. On December 6, six weeks before Edison was to yield his office to Republican Governor-elect Walter E. Edge, Edison made a recommendation to the state legislature commission engaged in re-framing the 99-year-old New Jersey constitution. In the recent election Hague had vainly made a bitter fight, and is still fighting, to preserve that ancient constitution. Governor Edison recommended that the following proposal of the Revision Commission be extended to include power over county and municipal officials:

> The Governor may, upon complaint submitted to him by at least 20 reputable citizens, cause an investigation to be made of the conduct in office of any State officer, except a member of the Legislature, an officer appointed or elected by the Legislature or a judicial officer. The Governor may remove any such officer after notice and an opportunity to be heard, whenever, in his opinion, such investigation discloses misfeasance or malfeasance in office.

Edison wants the extension of those powers over county and municipal officials in order to destroy "local dictators."

Peace with Germany

What is the German "problem"?

F. W. Foerster

Dr. F. W. Foerster was born in 1869, the son of the Director of the Berlin Observatory and the grandson of a distinguished German military man. He thus early encountered the two streams which he sees as constituting the essential conflict in German life—that of the peace-loving scientist and that of Prussia. He has for years taken the same position with regard to the German "problem" as is expressed in this article. For two decades he has spoken out against "Prussianism." Hence he was in bad odor under the Hohenzollerns, and even under the Weimar Republic, because he felt that in both instances the Prussian spirit had the upper hand. Needless to say, he is very far from persona grata *to the present régime, for he is the very embodiment of German anti-militarism. He is the author of a number of books, that most germane to the present discussion being "Europe and the German Question," now out of print but shortly to be reissued. The present article is his contribution to the series* THE COMMONWEAL *has been publishing concerning the solution of the German question.*—THE EDITORS.

IN AN article in THE COMMONWEAL (October 22, 1943) Mr. F. A. Hermens considers the problem of securing a peaceful Germany from the angle of Mr. Guglielmo Ferrero's book, "The Reconstruction of Europe." Ferrero pictures the reconstruction of Europe after Bonaparte's defeat. The peace then offered to France was most generous. It was based on a clear distinction between Bonaparte and the French nation. Mr. Hermens proposes a peace with Germany inspired by that distinction; he speaks in favor of a peace based on the assumption that the German nation is no more identical with Hitler than the French were with the great Corsican. I am a profound admirer of Guglielmo Ferrero, but I have always felt that he knew Germany only by long distance.

In any case, the comparison he suggests shows that he never understood the German mentality and the historical evolution that led to Hitler. What is the difference between the situation in 1815 and the one to be expected after Hitler's downfall? It is certainly true that for some time the French followed with enthusiasm the man who had put an end to mere revolutionary madmen. He also was the promoter of their great liberal ideas, which he defended against their enemies in reactionary Europe. Nevertheless when he cast anarchic Celtic folklorism into chains, he incontestably was more a Latin Caesar than a true "Franco-Gaul." He did not express the character and political genius of the French. He only fulfilled a transitory mission. "Now we need a sword" was the message which Barras, who defeated Robespierre, sent to Bonaparte when he ordered him to come from Egypt to Paris. The French nation is not expansive, aggressive or imperialistic; it is peace-loving and defensive, as the "cisalpine" poet Vergil described it some 2,000 years ago. *"Laissez-nous tranquilles,"* is what the French desire from their neighbors. The Maginot Line and not the conquerors reflects their true character.

The most French of all French statesmen,

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Richelieu, came from a region where the peasants protect their property by high stone walls. His policy was inspired by the necessity of defense against the growing Hapsburg colossus. Richelieu was finally forced to attack, but only because Austria's pincers threatened France. The encirclement started from Germany, Spain and Flanders. Not Bonaparte, but Jeanne d'Arc, *"la finesse cuirassée,"* the woman who had no trace of bellicosity in her veins, is the true symbol of the nation which does not desire war, but in the hour of supreme danger becomes miraculously strong in defense. In spite of the homage Europeans paid to it, Napoleon's tomb is not the central shrine of French patriotism. No rousing speeches are delivered there. No lamp burns night and day. The saint overshadows the conqueror. Grasp the meaning of that fact, and we understand the difference between France and Germany.

In conquering Europe, Bonaparte did not execute a plan of world domination hatched by the French General Staff for decades. No Pan-Gallic drunkenness had prepared his way and demanded the annexation of France's French speaking neighbors, or praised war as the climax of national activity. Let us not forget that the French Revolution was a reaction against absolutism and preached the rights of man. Bonaparte was its military representative. Therefore nobody could say that the French nation, even though it followed Bonaparte, had prepared and propagated for any length of time the invasion of foreign countries, imperialism and the conquest of the world. Look through French literature of the period before and during Bonaparte's rise, and you will not find a single book attributing to the French people some providential right of world domination. Therefore the victors were plainly justified in assuming that France was not identical with Bonaparte and would quickly return to her essential traditions after the end of the great adventure.

Is it still necessary to insist that on the German side we are faced with an exactly opposite state of affairs? "Hitler did not create Germany, Germany created Hitler," the French writer Massis said—and said correctly. No doubt is possible: one hundred years of ever-growing Pan-Germanism, racial pride, militarism, glorification of war, and finally fifteen years of secret rearmament and propaganda for revenge were bound to produce the ruthless Fuehrer who brought the final conclusion to the long-prepared general madness.

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In 1912 the British historian, Lord Blennerhasset, called on me in Munich. He told me: "In two years we shall have a European war." I asked: "Why?" And he replied: "I have studied all your political literature; it is Pan-German throughout. There is practically no opposition." Whatever little opposition there was in 1914 was rapidly crushed. It was overwhelmed by the long-kindled lust for power and expansion. There was (and is) under Hitler some modest amount of secret opposition. A small minority of truly enlightened people are worthy and will be ready to cooperate with the occupation authorities.

I met with some of them in Switzerland before leaving Europe. They kept hammering into my head: "Do not draw wrong conclusions from the fact of our existence. We are but a small boat on a roaring sea of furious nonsense."

After Hitler is crushed, the German danger will persist. For its substance, Prussian militarism and aggressive Pan-Germanism have been fed with one hundred years of inciting literature and are ideas shared not only by the most powerful and influential elements in Germany, the Junkers, industrialists, bankers and intellectuals, but also by teachers in grammar schools, petit bourgeois of whatever business, etc. Those Germans who declare that they have always been against Hitler offer no guarantee. Even Hitler's enemies are imbued with "Great-Prussianism" and Pan-Germanism, the ideas that produced Hitler. They have not agreed with Hitler's rough methods, because these compromised their ideals. But they were working for the same ultimate goal, although they preferred less dangerous means.

In any case: if suggestion of a "soft" peace influence the settlement with Germany, World War III will have been made inevitable. The same disastrous illusions which at Geneva favored the gangsters' rearmament and the threatened nation's disarmament would again allow a German resurgence, until finally the "Victory of the Vanquished" would become true indeed.

On October 17, 1941, in this magazine, George N. Shuster described "clean and beautiful" Germany, the Germany of Bruening, Stresemann and Wirth. Mr. Shuster has never looked behind the German scenes. He does not know that it was precisely his "beautiful" Germany which prepared the betrayal of the Allies and the second world war. Definite proof of my statement is given by the following declaration made by the former Reich Chancellor Wirth to the *Luzerner Tageblatt* (August 27, 1937):

> As to German rearmament, Hitler only continued the work which was started by the Weimar Republic. The great difficulty was that we had to conceal our efforts before the Entente. I had always to be polite and harmless. The basis of the Treaty of Rapallo was military cooperation, the goal the new partition of Poland. We counted on British neutrality, while we had reason to suppose that France could be tranquilized by a guarantee of her frontiers. The Treaty of Rapallo allowed us military experiments on Russian territory. When Hitler came to power, he had to occupy himself only with the quantity of the army. The quality had been our work, the real military

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reorganization having been realized by the Weimar Republic.

"Clean and beautiful" Germany prepared revenge, conquest, the partition of Poland and other "beautiful" enterprises. But in Geneva, Paris and London her diplomats proclaimed: "Germany has completely disarmed; please, Gentlemen, disarm as well." The result of this "clean" policy was that she became fully equipped for modern warfare, while the nations she threatened were so insufficiently prepared that they were compelled to enter into the infamous and deceitful Munich agreement.

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Nobody seems to have learned from the experience. I should not be astonished if Dr. Schacht, the true genius of deceitful equivocation, who betrayed America three times, should one day be the negotiator for the "clean and beautiful" trustees of a new anti-Hitler Germany. Who doubts that the trustees would be the very men who did their best to pave the way for the great misleader? Cooperation with these ever-compromising persons would be a compromise with the evil spirit of Germany and no less disastrous for the latter than the rest of the world. In this sense, Countess Waldeck's book, "Meet Mr. Blank," is most dangerous and misleading. She presents to the world the last remnants of German honesty, but is blind to the fact that, with few exceptions, these lost their honor by their cooperation with criminals unspeakably abject. There is no bird without a nest. The loyal collaboration of formerly honest Germans was the nazi-criminal's nest. Without the honest Germans' backing, there would have had no nest to breed their devilsh brood. Even the devil needs the "treason of the intellectuals."

Let me emphasize this: there is no political group in Germany which can dare to offer itself as the reliable guarantee of effective resistance to any future attempts at restoring the old schemes and dreams. Long-term allied control is necessary. That Germany allows herself to be again and again dominated by her worst elements belies her plea for self-determination.

Europe is devastated; all the world is thrown out of balance and must consent to tremendous sacrifices to stop the ever-growing German crime. If all that should end in a soft peace, if punishment were not to be meted out for the incredible lack of responsibility and civil courage shown by a great nation of high cultural tradition—then our moral indifference will be punished by Providence no less terribly than is German moral insanity at the present time.

A great error prevails among non-German people. They often consider Hitler as a tyrant who overpowered the German people. No, Hitler was their legitimate leader; he is the most eloquent spokesman of their lust for power, and the symbol of the megalomania which got hold of their activities long ago. The more he drags them into unlimited butchery, the more they may in the end come to consider him a tyrant. But they have deserved him. When he unmasked himself, he also unmasked his people's own moral insanity in political affairs.

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Long ago Bethmann Hollweg said in his memoirs: "I cannot be held responsible for the fact that military force is fanatically idolized as the sole solution of all difficulties in this world by the German people." Therefore any "democratic régime" granted to the Germans in their present state of mind would be a farce. The unconverted millions would vote against democracy and for a new Hitler, or at least a man whom they thought daring enough to revive the Prussian and Pan-Germanic program. We should not forget what political ideology has dominated German foreign policy for decades. It was a mass-infection, a national drunkenness and collective disease, with only small, powerless exceptions.

Nationalist madness was so overwhelming that even German Social Democracy had to give in to it. In 1927 the German industrialist, Arnold Rechberg, could state in *Vossische Zeitung* that "at no time under the Hohenzollerns did the war office wield so powerful an influence as under the so-called Weimar Republic." With such a record, Social Democracy can never again be considered as a steadfast wall again a new national conspiracy.

The great error of generous non-German people is to believe that they can rely on the weakest section of the German people, and expect them to succeed in educating the stronger. No, the victors have to concentrate their thoughts and efforts on the big, totalitarian, anti-pacifist and nationalist section of the German people, and to treat them in the only appropriate and effective way. Of course, the German problem cannot be solved merely by a foreign occupation. But long-term foreign occupation and tutelage is the first and indispensable condition of a new German political orientation. Such a reorientation cannot be produced by "education"; it needs a *heavy clash with realities* hitherto ignored. This was spared to the Germans by the Treaty of Versailles. The latter did not teach them that the rest of the world was powerful enough and truly resolved to prevent a revival of Prussian militarism at any cost.

In an excellent article in *Foreign Affairs,* Sir H. J. Mackinder also insists on that external condition for the solution of the German problem. He is sure that it will produce a great internal

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effort. He counts on the new Russian reality at Germany's Eastern frontier. He says:

> Face the German mind with an enduring certainty that any war fought by Germany must be a war on two unshakable fronts—and the Germans themselves will draw the conclusions . . . It is necessary that the three and the fourth ally, Russia, be pledged together to cooperate immediately if any breach of the peace is threatening so that the devil in Germany can never again get its head up, and must die by inanition.

A solid and inflexible inter-allied tutelage, at the side of the new Russia's presence in the East, will give to the new generation in Germany—and also the still openminded people among the actual generation—the certitude that Germany has no longer any chance to impose her will on Europe and the rest of the world. This tutelage therefore is the decisive factor and it must be the essential rule in all dealings with Germany. Large armies are not required for the long-term occupation. A symbolic occupation, backed by air police which can be quickly and largely reinforced, will be sufficient, if it covers an allied directorium over Germany. But evidence must be given of the overwhelming, united and vigilant Allied power that backs the directorium. If this is assured, Germany may return to her best cultural traditions. If it is not solidly assured, the old game will be renewed and will lead to a still greater world catastrophe.

Labor on Trial

"Democracy in Trade Unions"

John C. Cort

FOR THE thirty years between 1911 and 1941 there was neither a convention held nor a financial report made by the hodcarriers' union. The president of the musicians' union has the power to call strikes on his own initiative and to set aside any provisions of the union constitution and to substitute "other and different provisions of his own making." A New Jersey truckdriver was expelled from his local for making derogatory remarks about the officials, who did not stoop to the formality of serving charges or holding a hearing. All of twenty-nine American unions either refuse to admit or clearly discriminate against Negro workers. Initiation fees of movie operators' locals in New York and Chicago range from 300 dollars to a cool thousand.

So what? Shall we therefore conclude that all unions are vicious rackets concerned only with gaining power and pelf for the morally misshapen individuals who run them? This seems to be the conclusion of a popular columnist who has already received more publicity than he either needs or deserves. Fortunately it is not the conclusion of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has just made public findings and recommendations based on its own experience and on a two-year study of "Democracy in Trade Unions" made by a special committee that included among its members Edward C. Lindeman, Alfred M. Bingham, Paul Brissenden, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, George S. Counts, Arthur Garfield Hays and Norman Thomas.

The committee's report is contained in an 86-page pamphlet under the above title, plus a 24-page supplement containing "desirable provisions of union constitutions and references to court cases," and anyone who wants to be hep to such matters, as they say at the Savoy, would do well to send herewith a quarter (25c) to the ACLU, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., for a copy of the same (also five for $1, 25 for $5).

Also included in the report is a foreword and general endorsement signed by a number of prominent citizens and authorities in the field, including Monsignor John A. Ryan, Bishop Baker of the Methodist Church, Mary Beard, Morris L. Cooke, Herbert Harris, James Myers, Selig Perlman, Joel Seidman, Philip J. Taft, and William Allen White. It is perhaps too bad that an effort wasn't made to secure the endorsement of labor leaders, although it could also be that such an effort was made and ran into difficulties. Not that there is anything in the report that a decent labor leader couldn't and shouldn't endorse. All parties, for example, make it very clear that they regard our American unions as basically democratic and the abuses cited as more exception than rule. They might have gone further and said that our trade unions are virtually the only instruments of democratic process in the whole realm of American industry. Any comparison of their effectiveness with stockholders' meetings, for example, is positively laughable.

All parties, however, further point out that the abuses that do exist are of sufficient importance

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and extent not only to endanger the commonweal, but to threaten the future safety and efficiency of unionism itself. After all, it is claimed that between 13 and 14 million Americans are now paying dues in AFL, CIO and *bona fide* independent unions, which is over a third of those subject to organization. The number of jobs covered by union contract is closer to 16 or 17 million, since there are plenty of free-riders who enjoy the sweets of unionization without bothering to pay the price. About 6,000,000 work under closed shop agreements, which means that if they are expelled from their union they are automatically expelled from their jobs.

Since the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act in 1937, it has been a firmly established part of national policy—and often of state policy—to protect and promote the workers' right to join the union of his choice and to bargain collectively through that union with his employer. Any labor leader would be out of his mind to make the merest innuendo to the effect that the labor movement has not gained millions of members and thousands of contracts as a direct result of this policy of public assistance. All these things being so, it is no longer possible to maintain that a trade union is a purely private organization with no bearing on the public interest. It is not only impossible to maintain it, it is also impossible to expect that a public aroused and alarmed by the revelations of Sir Westbrook, and others, will not eventually permit the Congressional bloodhounds to rend the carcass of American labor with a parcel of laws that will pass as regulation and wind up as strangulation. To forestall such an unlovely prospect, therefore, why shouldn't labor leaders (1) put their houses in order where necessary and (2) support sound minimum legislation designed to bring the more ragged edges into line?

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Let us consider, within their proper framework, some of the obvious abuses of American labor detailed by the ACLU report. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the business of refusing union membership to qualified applicants, or charging prohibitory initiation fees. Even here there is no simple question of black and white, at least not as regards the former practice. Where employment is casual and hiring done on a rotary basis, as among Harry Bridges's West Coast longshoremen, union membership is sometimes limited to the size of the working force normally needed. Since the work must be equally divided, it is clearly better that a limited number should get a decent wage than that more be employed and none make enough to keep the wolf at bay. What we can say with certainty is this: that where reasonably steady work is available, it is a serious injustice to exclude a man for any reason other than incompetence, an anti-union record or bad moral character, and especially where the union controls all the jobs in a given field.

Those who suffer most, of course, from violation of this principle are the Negroes. Last hired and first fired, they are in many trades never hired at all, for the simple reason that the union controlling that trade refuses to admit them. The ACLU reveals that there are still, in this enlightened day and age, 15 unions excluding colored workers by explicit constitutional provision or by ritual. These include some of the most important organizations in the country, such as the machinists (a few locals have yielded to wartime pressure), railroad telegraphers, switchmen, all AFL, and the four independent railroad brotherhoods. Five more AFL affiliates—the powerful electricians, plumbers, asbestos, flint, glass, and granite workers—have no explicit bar, but locals exclude them by tacit consent. Nine more, seven AFL and two independent, herd their Negro members into Jim Crow "auxiliaries" with no voice in union affairs and no opportunity for upgrading. In this category there are a number of railroad unions plus the AFL's boilermakers, blacksmiths and sheet metal workers, these last being important in the vital shipbuilding industry.

It is interesting to note that the railroad industry, where government intervention in labor relations has been most prominent, is by far the worst offender on the Negro question. Of the 29 discriminating unions, 13 are railroad and six railroad shop outfits. The record of the CIO on this score is generally excellent, with only stray locals offending on major points, although there are few unions even in the CIO where upgrading isn't still more or less of a problem.

The ingratitude of children to their parents finds a loud echo in the policy of many AFL unions toward aliens. Although the labor movement, and America itself, is largely fruit of the toil of immigrant workers, three unions require full citizenship and two more charge aliens prohibitive initiation fees, while two more charge them higher fees and 22 demand first papers. More than 25 organizations close the gate to women, over half of these in the railroad industry and the rest mainly in skilled crafts, but in spite of this fair sex unionists have increased from 250,000 in 1924 to 500,000 in 1937 to 3,500,000 in 1942. On the other hand, there is little or no religious discrimination in American unions. Communists are officially barred from a number of unions, notably the miners (also Ku Kluxers and members of the Chamber of Commerce no less), rubber workers (also nazis and fascists), teamsters and bridge workers, but such clauses are rarely put into effect.

In the light of these facts the ACLU report

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recommends federal and state legislation "punishing the exclusion from membership of any qualified persons on account of race, religion, sex, national origin, or political affiliation." At present New York, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Kansas have laws prohibiting exclusion for race or religion, but none of these have been effectively enforced since the courts have held that union membership is not a right, but a privilege. Obviously federal legislation is necessary to clear up this angle of the question. As for penalties, it could be provided that no discriminating union would be recognized by a federal (or state) labor agency as a collective bargaining agent and no closed shop contract of such a union would be legally valid. These seem to be reasonable and practical proposals for the erasing of a major blot on labor's escutcheon.

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It would be much too long a job to detail all the different violations of democratic principle, or even of basic justice, in the conduct and organization of American unions. A much simpler job is to list the major principles that are violated. The ACLU committee does this by presenting a *Bill of Rights* for the trade union members. The first one deals with the right of membership which we have discussed above, and we quote the others:

> 2. Democratic participation in the conduct of the union to which he belongs. This right obviously requires democratic organization of the union, inclusive of local district, state, national and international units. Among the principles to be safeguarded in democratic organization of trade unions are (a) provisions for regular meetings or conventions held at reasonable intervals, (b) fair elections, (c) free discussion within the union of all union problems, and (d) control of dues, assessments, and financial matters by the membership, together with clear and authentic periodic reports to members on union finances.
>
> 3. Protection within his union against arbitrary proceedings of a disciplinary character, to be guaranteed by constitutional provisions for fair hearings before persons other than those bringing charges [or those accused—J. C. C.] and with appeal to a separate and independent body.
>
> 4. Fair and equal treatment with respect to job placement in all cases where the union exercises control over employment.

If you're organizing a union yourself or just want to check a constitution or by-laws against this Bill of Rights, "Democracy in Trade Unions" has an excellent list of essential and advisable provisions. Among these are provisions for initiative, referendum and recall of officials; for election of officials and convention delegates by secret ballot wherever there is opposition; for counting of ballots in the presence of representatives of competing candidates; for levy of special assessments only after majority approval by members, with no member assessed for a political purpose he does not support; for appropriations only after majority approval, especially when made to outside causes; for the right of members to print and distribute within the union their views on any union issue; for publication, distribution or availability of all union records, including contracts, constitution by-laws, financial records, minutes of executive board and membership meetings; for granting of space in official organs to views in opposition to those of the union administration. They might also have insisted on a provision that all meetings and conventions be run strictly according to "Roberts' Rules of Order," "Cushing's Manual," or some other parliamentary authority.

To prevent the building of political machines of paid officials the report suggests that all business agents (and presumably organizers) should be chosen by and be responsible to the executive board rather than the president. "In filling jobs the union should follow either the rule of seniority . . . or in times of unemployment, share-the-work arrangements or preference to those who have been the longest unemployed." On the important question of union discipline the ACLU points out that any charges punishable by suspension or expulsion should be tried before an impartial board at hearings open to union members, with stenographic records, the right to counsel and calling of witnesses, and the right of appeal to a higher body or the membership, with the further right of appeal to an outside body provided by law, as we shall hereinafter explain.

This question of union discipline, particularly as regards critics and opponents of the union administration, is perhaps the key problem in the whole business. Certainly the essence, or one of the essences, of democracy is freedom of criticism and the right to indulge in "loyal opposition." No one will deny that disloyal opposition must be given the old heave-ho or discouraged with firm dispatch. The big fault with most constitutions, and to a certain extent with the ACLU report, is that the line between loyal and disloyal opposition is not clearly defined, and in fact it is more often not defined at all.

For example "Democracy in Trade Unions" makes a point, and the all-too-true observation that "often they [union constitutions] also contain a vaguely worded clause which officials can apply to a wide variety of opposition activities." And then, strangely enough indeed, the committee prints in its supplement under the heading "desirable provisions from trade union constitutions" several perfect specimens of such clauses from that of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, AFL. These provide that members may be fined, suspended or expelled for "any action or conduct detrimental to the interests of the I.L.G.W.U. or its subordinate bodies, and for slandering the organization or any of its officers,"

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for disclosing to "any person other than a fellow-member any of the decisions or proceedings of the Union which have not been publicly disclosed by the Union." Another clause says that officials may be removed for "any act which may be calculated to impair the usefulness of the organization or which is unbecoming to the dignity of office held by him."

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We regret that these seem to us to be classic examples of vaguely worded clauses and in the one case that is precisely worded, that on disclosing union information, downright unjust. Why should it be so difficult to define properly and clearly disloyal activity? Certainly one must condemn disclosing union secrets to employers or other anti-union parties, but the responsibility of marking such-and-such information as a "union secret" rests with the officials. We could condemn false and malicious slander designed to destroy the union or the character of its officials. Violations of the constitution, or of defined duties are obviously beyond the pale. Therefore what is the point of all those "detrimental to the interests of," "impair the usefulness of," "unbecoming to the dignity of" and the nice, vague word "slander," undefined, unless it be to set up a great big booby trap for any opposition that happens to look dangerous?

Don't think we are putting the blast on the ILG in particular. There are many splendid features about that union—notably its regular and detailed financial reports, its many educational and recreational features, its enlightened policy on capital-labor cooperation—but judging from the history books and page 36 of the report, the ILG's treatment of communist opposition in the years 1923-28 was not exactly a model of democratic procedure. And let us hasten immediately to add that CP-controlled unions yield to nobody in their disregard for the fine points, or even the unfine points, as attested by pages 37-38 on cases involving the State, County and Municipal Workers and the Transport Workers Unions, not to mention others we know of involving the office workers, furriers, and Bridges's longshoremen.

"Democracy in Trade Unions" is completely satisfactory, however, in its recognition and handling of the fact that what is most essential in the matter of union discipline is the right to a fair trial and the right of appeal to impartial parties. Consequently the committee recommends—and this is very important so we quote it all:

> (1) That when members have exhausted the machinery set up within the union for contesting suspensions and expulsions, and for adjusting such complaints, they should have the right to a hearing by a commission set up as a permanent division of the state labor department, or selected for specific hearings from a panel, with adequate representation of labor on such a commission. Appeal from the decision of the commission should lie to an appellate court.
>
> (2) That in case of continued serious violations of these rights of workers on the part of a trade union having a closed shop agreement or seeking to become an exclusive bargaining agent, the appropriate labor department on complaint of a trade union member should have authority to investigate and adjust. Provision should be made for appeal from such an order to the commission, with authority to order cessation of improper practices referred to above. From the decision of such a commission further appeal should lie to an appellate court.
>
> (3) But if a trade union found to persist in major and continuous violations of the rights guaranteed by their own constitution refuses to desist, the commission may certify its findings to the appropriate labor relations board empowered, after proper hearings, to deprive the union of the benefits of a closed shop agreement, or acting as exclusive bargaining agent.

The report adds:

> The advantage of setting up a quasi-judicial commission to intervene between the union machinery and resort to the courts is supported by all experience in the adjustment of labor relations. Experience shows that such commissions soon become expert in the problems involved and make speedier and fairer disposition of the controversy than the courts.

This recommendation and the one on discrimination are the only two ideas for legislation suggested by the ACLU committee. We think they are both sound, necessary and constructive suggestions, and we fervently hope that labor leaders of good will, of whom there are still plenty in the American labor movement, will recognize the better part of wisdom and valor, and if not actually putting their shoulders to the wheel, at least refrain from sticking rocks under the other side. Those with courage might be expected to do more.

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As the ACLU report admits, however, the most perfect constitution in the world and the most watertight, skid-proof laws in the world are not going to produce "democracy in trade unions" just like that. Legal mechanisms make democracy possible, but a smart, articulate, determined rank-and-file, watching their leaders—even good ones—like hungry hawks and participating actively in union affairs, can actually make of democracy the real and living thing that it should be.

And so we come back to that stale and discouraging old problem of education. Who is going to train and inspire rank-and-file trade unionists to be "smart, articulate and determined," not to mention honest, reasonable and self-sacrificing? Who is going to train the leaders? The left-wingers have been doing it, and the left-wingers have been taking over unions here and there. More and more the Church—through the ACTU, Jesuit and diocesan labor schools—has also been doing it. The harvest is great and the laborers are still few.

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Communications

BETTER TO GRIN AND BEAR IT

Cambridge, Mass.

TO the Editors: Together with many of my friends I have been profoundly disturbed by the severance of Professor McMahon's connection with Notre Dame University, and applaud the editorial in your number of November 19. The issue is too important, I believe, to let it pass without further comment and discussion. Not the least disturbing feature of it is the public explanation offered by President O'Donnell, as reported in the New York *Times* for November 8. He is quoted as saying that "there is no intent to violate freedom of speech or academic freedom, rightly understood," and that "Dr. McMahon's individual pronouncements . . . were being interpreted as the University's stand." Now I know of no one who had ever previously to this incident supposed that Professor McMahon's political opinions were those of Notre Dame University, or that the university in its official capacity had any political opinion; whereas *now* the general impression has been created, that Notre Dame University has a political opinion, the reverse, namely, of Professor McMahon's. There are also grave doubts, widely disseminated, as to whether academic freedom is "rightly understood" at Notre Dame. I say this after much hesitation and in a spirit of friendship towards Notre Dame University and the Catholic Church in America.

Since President O'Donnell requested Professor McMahon, as a condition of his remaining a member of the faculty of Notre Dame that he "submit a list of his speaking engagements, an account of his press releases, and the contents of his addresses" to the University administration in advance, any public utterance of a member of that faculty will henceforth be assumed to have passed under the approving eyes of the authorities. No action could have been taken better calculated to identify the private and personal opinion with an official opinion. Henceforth Notre Dame University in its corporate capacity will be held responsible for *all* the public utterances of *all* of the faculty.

American colleges and universities have had a long experience in this matter of academic liberty. The question does not arise at all unless some teacher has expressed objectionable opinions or has expressed his opinions in an objectionable manner. There is no such thing as an academic freedom that costs nothing. It requires magnanimity, forbearance and courage. But after one or two struggles the battle is won and the separation of the private and personal opinion from that of the institution is thereafter completely established in the public mind.

This is a serious matter not only for the reputation of a distinguished university, but for its effect upon the relation of the Catholic and the non-Catholic people of the nation. The country has suffered much from the non-intercourse between these two groups, especially in the field of education and scholarship. We have never achieved the close contacts and interchange of ideas that have prevailed in Europe. Professor McMahon is a man highly respected among his colleagues. He has achieved his friendships among non-Catholics without in the least compromising his Catholicism. His dismissal is a great blow to those non-Catholics who most admire Catholicism and are most eager to promote sympathy and understanding.

And what in future are Americans at large to think of Catholic freedom in matters outside the area of faith and morals—in those social and political fields in which we have been told a Catholic may think and act as he will, and in which he must work with his non-Catholic fellow-citizens for the solution of their common problems? Are we to assume henceforth that the Church uses its discipline to control the political views of its members on controversial public issues which lie outside the area of faith and morals? This is what the enemies of Catholicism would like us to think, and which the friends of Catholicism have been at pains to deny. Does it not follow that the enemies have been strengthened and the friends weakened?

I would not intrude my opinions on this matter if I did not believe that it is of the first importance for the good relations and civic comradeship between Catholic and non-Catholic Americans, and did I not hope that my Catholic friends could be persuaded to see the issue in that light.

RALPH BARTON PERRY.

The Stage & Screen

Listen, Professor!

AN ADAPTATION by Peggy Phillips of a translation by J. J. Robbins of a play by Alexander Afinegenov (the late young Soviet playwright), this production is both serious and mishandled, and I should say that the fault lies chiefly with the original script, although in any document which has undergone such a number of mutations, it is difficult to trace original causes. However, the combined playwrights have strangely delivered to us a play based on the ideal of the sacredness of the individual without a single individual in it, a character-study without a character, a production which is the last word in naturalism but one traveled by a series of types rather than a number of people. The result is sentimentalism in its purest form, a selection of abstract virtues worn each by an actor and mounted in a setting which would be home-just-home in any country at any time. Unplotted, the small kernel of story gives us Masha, a young girl, child of an opposed love-marriage, arriving unwanted at the Moscow residence of her noted scholar-grandfather and proceeding to reconcile the old forces with the new, to adjust the differences between three generations, and to achieve a fair share of happiness and opportunity for herself. Built on a sequence of trailing curtains (merely interruptions in the talk), and overwhelmingly designed by Howard Bay in a beautiful set

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whose detailed interest dwarfs every incident, the entire piece hangs upon the players who are in turn given nothing upon which to hang their interpretations. And it is unfortunate that as director, Sanford Meisner has chosen to underline the structural weakness of the play and to type-cast it rather than giving it wholly into the hands of actors of personality as well as discipline. Hampered by the single dimension of his part, Dudley Digges turns in simply a job as the "Professor"; and playing the Young Girl who is ostensibly every Young Girl, Susan Robinson is at once credible while on stage, and entirely unmemorable when off it. I cannot feel that this is especially the fault of the performers, although it must be mentioned that the deafening boreal attack of Martin Blayne in the fatuous rôle of a young and noble engineer is unquestionably the most irritating exhibition of the season and one which could only be remedied by that ancient device known as "the hook." Perhaps under a system of long rehearsal impossible to Broadway, and augmented by a more carefully planned pattern of "business" and action, a *performance* could have been wrung from these lines written and rewritten so many times by so many people. But I do not think so. Whatever play was there in the beginning was not, I think, a good one; and the final impression is sadly one of too many cooks moiling over a boneless broth. (*At the Forrest.*)

Feathers in a Gale

COME and gone again at the Music Box, there is not much to be said in retrospect for this Pauline Jamerson-Reginald Lawrence comedy. A prolonged picture of life as a widow in a Cape Cod town in 1804, the script detailed the canny practice of auctioning off the impecunious little women among the townspeople in order to save their board and keep; and through it all, the audience slept apace. Every forty-five minutes occurred A Laugh, selected sea-chanties were alternately mumbled and roared, and the saddest intermission orchestra I have ever heard fiddled jigs and reels to a rockabye tempo. Aside from the exhausting efforts of Peggy Conklin, Paula Trueman, Louise Lorimer and Norman MacKay, it is only necessary to mention that Arthur Hopkins was both producer and director. And I should certainly like to ask him why. KAPPO PHELAN.

Pretty, Without Shoes

IN THE old days, no one fussed if the plot of a stage musical comedy didn't amount to much. Audiences seemed satisfied when a show was well sung, elaborately dressed and included a pretty chorus and some good music. Nowadays audiences expect and frequently get a good story with a musical comedy. Movies, however, have not kept up with the stage in this department and are still offering senseless, cream-puff plots as background for production numbers that compare favorably with the stage's best. Three new musical films, all made with expensive A budgets, illustrate this.

"Riding High," which has a good cast, swell technicolor of Western open spaces and catchy songs by Ralph Rainer and Leo Robin, might have assembled something better than the confused concoction it passes off as a story. Dorothy Lamour plays a show girl who goes out West to see her father and his mine. She is nasty to Dick Powell, who she thinks is cheating papa, until she sees a roll of thousand dollar bills in Dick's hands. Then she is nice to him until she learns that the bills were made by Victor Moore, as cute and lovable a counterfeiter as one could imagine. Then she is nasty to Dick again until it turns out that the mine contains a goodly supply of valuable minerals. All this ends after a long race through some beautiful country when Powell finally rescues Lamour and Moore from a runaway chuck wagon. I relate this plot in case you sleep during it more soundly than I did. You will be wakened from time to time by the musical numbers some of which are worth rousing yourself for, but some you might just slumber through. "You're the Rainbow" consists of a series of superlatives in the "You're the Top" manner. "Injun Gal Heap Hep" and "Get Your Man" are done as superproduction numbers with the chorus dressed as Indians in the first and in abbreviated Mountie costumes in the second. "Willie, the Wolf of the West" is sung endlessly by Cass Daley with snatches of popular songs running into its own chorus. And there's a big rough and tumble number in which Gil Lamb and Milt Britton's Band finally smash everything in sight including a handsome white piano. Poor Victor Moore seems ill at ease amidst this uncinematic and dubious entertainment, but perhaps it serves him right for accepting the rôle of a crook and playing it with such off-hand charm. The Hays Office, of course, saw to it that he's headed for jail in the finale.

Having missed the popular operetta, *"The Desert Song,"* back in the twenties (that anyone could have missed it seems impossible) as well as the movie version in the early thirties (talkies were much different then), I cannot tell you how the new version compares—but I can tell you that on its own merits, it is incredibly dull. Outside of the three fine songs by Sigmund Romberg and some pretty technicolor (of New Mexico scenery) "The Desert Song" in the forties consists mainly of long and tedious scenes in which Riffs do a lot of shooting, riding and falling off horses. Its silly plot, laid mostly in Morocco in 1939, shows the French in a pretty bad light for not keeping a more considerate eye on what their citizens were doing to the oppressed Riffs and for allowing the Germans to build a railroad to Dakar. But neither the story nor the characters can be considered seriously. Dennis Morgan is handsome, manly and in good voice as the American who doubles as a Riff leader. Blond Irene Manning plays the heroine stiffly but sings well with Morgan. None of the rôles call for acting, so we can blame none of the actors for not giving. Gene Lockhart, Lynne Overman, Bruce Cabot, and Victor Francen help the proceedings a little. But "The Desert Song" is likely to appeal only to females who swoon when a sheik in a burnoose sings and makes love to a high-heeled dame before a desert sunset.

In case you have not seen the phenomenon known as Frank Sinatra, you will have your opportunity in *"Higher and Higher."* Those who come to scoff will be disap-

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pointed and those who come to be thrilled will be thrilled. For, although Frank has a face like a mask of hunger, with soulful eyes burning through, he conducts himself well in the film. He exhibits a pleasant, unassuming manner that is disarming in such an idol; and he moves with a nice sense of rhythm as he sings "The Music Stopped" (in Sinatra fashion) and "I Saw You First" (with a delightful sense of humor). "Higher and Higher," based on the old Rodgers and Hart musical comedy, is not wrapped in technicolor, but it does have a good cast and the same utterly thoughtless plot that puts movie musicals in a class by themselves. The film's opening is typical: cook, maid, butler, valet, pantry boy and slavey of the Drake household are singing their heads off about Mr. Drake who is going out tonight and who was awfully drunk last night. Because Mr. Drake (Leon Errol) is very, very broke, all these servants, who have not been paid for many months, form a corporation. Their purpose is to foist the scullery maid off on the world not only as a debutante but also as Mr. Drake's daughter, with the hope that some rich guy will marry her. The rest of the story is concerned with how this unscrupulous and far-fetched plan works out. It works out badly, I'm glad to report. Michele Morgan, who has shown remarkable acting ability in films made in her native France, plays the slavey who is cinderellaized, but she is hardly the deb type or a musical comedy ingénue. Jack Haley, Marcy McGuire, Mary Wickes, Paul and Grace Hartman, Dooley Wilson are also involved in this droopy plot but are not allowed to shine in best form. The film belongs to Sinatra, if to anyone; and perhaps his fans won't ask for anything more. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Editors' Choice

GREAT AMERICAN PAINTINGS FROM SMIBERT TO BELLOWS. *John Walker and MacGill James. Oxford.* $5.00.

A TREASURY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE. *Edited by B. G. Guerney. Vanguard.* $3.95.

THE COMPLETE ETCHINGS OF GOYA. *Foreword by Aldous Huxley. Crown.* $3.50.

The American Temper

PRIMARILY "Great American Paintings" is a picture book. It is really magnificently illustrated, as far as the black and white reproductions are concerned. As much cannot be said for those in color, which have that peculiar look of the oleograph so destructive of a fine painting's quality. But this is a minor criticism indeed. Here is a whole gallery of American painting covering our entire achievement up to the present generation—in other words, that part of our artistic heritage about which judgment can be fairly sure. The selection, also, is excellent. There are old favorites one does not see, but there are plenty of others to make up for their absence. What is more, the selection from each painter's output is as generous as you could ask for. In all, a round four dozen artists are represented, ranging from the first New England portrait painters to Mary Cassatt, from "primitives" like Hicks to the subtle moods of Ryder.

The compilers of this gallery also supply a brief historical introduction, which is competent and helpful for those who know little about American painting. They ask themselves the usual question: is there an American style? Of course it would be silly to say that there is, that there is just one American artistic temper, and that anything else is not American. Yet there does seem to be, running through our achievement, a certain strain, not typical of us, particularly, but typical. The same strain runs through the art of the Low Countries. Indeed if you examine a black and white photograph of one of Copley's finest portraits, at the Bowdoin College Museum, and compare it with a photograph of a very famous, somewhat similar portrait by Van Eyck, you will be startled at the similarity in style. The comparison falls down when it comes to color, for Copley had only a very limited palette available to him in Colonial Boston; and there may be a temperamental difference to account for the duller tones of the American's painting.

This temper is difficult to describe yet easy to recognize. It lies in a love of the specific, of clarity of line, of luminous atmosphere, totally unlike the introspective concern with the *nature* of light and color and line so characteristic of the best modern French painting. There is also a seeming neglect of design, although design is always present in unobtrusive fashion. To speak again of Copley, one remembers what happened to his style when he quit the Colonies and went to live in England. Not only did he start painting in the "grand manner," he lost the exquisite precision of such portraits as his "Boy with a Squirrel"—criticized in London precisely because it had this virtue. Of course the tremendous influence of Paris and the minor influence of Munich on recent American work has done a great deal to obliterate this fastidious temper, this beautifully literary approach to painting which, in the best specimens, is also superb painting. Yet the temper crashes through, in meretricious form, in the works of such men as Grant Wood and Luigi Lucione. Is it not possible that this American temper springs from our climate and our history, and can be denied by transatlantic crossings only at the peril of mediocrity?

How Russians Write

IT WOULD be impossible to bring together a thousand pages of greater and lesser Russian masters without providing a wealth of fascinating reading. Yet the residual impression from such a collection can depend a lot on the titles chosen from the wide range of novels, verse, plays and letters achieved by leading figures in the history of Russian literature. In the Cournos anthology reviewed in these pages a month ago there was a tendency to emphasize the Russian sense of brotherhood and the Christian, messianic, revolutionary and torturing, self-doubting aspects of the Russian soul. It also included a number of quieter, calmer, more ordinary things, but Dostoievski's impassioned tribute to Pushkin and to Russia's vision for the world set the tone. Bernard G. Guerney's "Treasury of Russian Literature" deals primarily with lesser things.

It includes the whole of Turgenev's "Fathers and Sons," as charming a novel of provincial life as one could hope to find anywhere. The story is famous, of course, for its portrait of the nihilist-scientist, Bazarov, and as such is prophetic of certain Soviet tendencies in the Revolution's more naïve days, when physical science was believed to hold the key to everything. But "Fathers and Sons" really deals much more with the reactions of overconfident young men on their return home from the uni-

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versity, their vulnerability to feminine wiles and charms and their exaggerated romanticism. It is all on a completely different plane from the "Brothers Karamazov."

Mr. Guerney also includes those two superb examples of the Russian short story found in the Cournos collection: Pushkin's "Queen of Spades" and Gogol's "The Cloak." These have seldom been surpassed in any language. Another familiar item is the play, "The Inspector General" (also by Gogol) which tells off the lesser Russian bureaucracy so effectively. Dostoievski is represented by a somewhat minor work, "Notes from the Underground," as gloomy a bit of introspection as one would find anywhere, but in total effect not nearly so depressing as Tolstoi's famous "Death of Ivan Ilyich," also included here. The "Notes" verge on the fringe of insanity much of the time. Maxim Gorki's more modern "The Lowest Depths," for all its drabness, has about it a certain camaraderie of wretchedness that takes the edge off its hopeless atmosphere.

"Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk" by Nicholas Semyonovich Lescov, is several cuts below its prototype on many scores. Instead of the vaulting ambition of the Scotch Lord and Lady who aspired to a crown there is only the most sordid and commonplace reason for the murders of the Russian husband, his father and his nephew. What is narrated of the long journey to Siberia is equally drab. And the fire seems to have gone out of Russian writing since the Revolution, if the Soviet samples in this volume mean anything.

Traces of Russia's Christian background appear only here and there. And Bielinski's "Letter to Gogol" undoubtedly serves a useful purpose in questioning the fervor motivating so many religious forms. It even goes as far as this: "According to you the Russian folk is the most religious in the world—which is a lie! The basis of religiousness is piety, reverence, fear of God. But the Russian utters the name of God even as he scratches himself. . . . He says of a holy image: If it works, pray before it; if it don't work, use it for a pot cover. Look a little more intently and you will see that this is a profoundly atheistic folk. . . ." Shades of Tolstoi and Dostoievski!

For those who have never read it Friar Nestor's eleventh century account of the baptism of Vladimir of Kiev and the baptism of all Russia will be a delight. Here are a few phrases about that great saint and ruler: "Vladimir caused to be proclaimed throughout the city: Whosoever fails to appear at the river tomorrow, be he rich or poor, or a beggar, or a craftsman, the same shall find himself in my disfavor. Hearing this, the people came with gladness and rejoicing, saying: Were this not a good thing, the Prince and his nobles would not have accepted it. Next morning Vladimir set forth with the priests of the Empress and those of Corsun to the Dnieper, whither the people flocked in countless multitudes. . . ."

"The Disasters of War"

AS LONG as you know what you mean it's all right; it's all right to talk about the Russians in "War and Peace" and the Russians in real life, and, of course, they are very Russian. And it's all right to talk about Sancho Panza or the dancer Argentinita and, of course, they are very Spanish. But the fact is that children dance gracefully on the sidewalks of New York, people worry and argue late at night in New York just as they do in Dostoievski, men live and die, facing the same problems everywhere; art considers these problems everywhere; the

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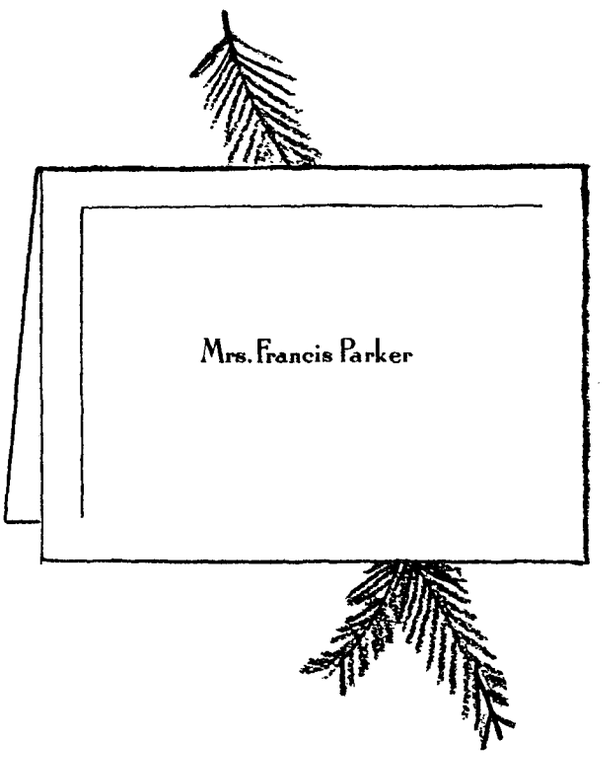

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great Russian art, the great Spanish art considers and presents the problems of mankind. That is why it is that great art is unlimited by nationality. So that now there has been published the complete etched work of the Spanish artist Goya and nothing could be more Spanish but nothing could be more universal.

Take that extraordinary series "The Disasters of War." Napoleon sent his troops into Spain. It was a great mistake for him to do so but that is neither here nor there. Goya made a series of plates depicting what happened to the French soldiers when the Spanish civilian population could get at them and what happened to the Spanish civilian population when the French soldiery, outraged at their unexpected obstinacy, murdered and tortured them. Superficially, then, Goya would seem to be looking at a special picture of bestial fury enacted by French and Spanish against the bare background of the Spanish hills. Profoundly, however, he takes almost a Tolstoyan view of the matter. What he is really considering are the "disasters of war"—a generalized horror. War is a disaster; no one is directly and totally responsible; war is mankind embarked in horror. There is an automatism of horror accompanying war inevitably. The starving Spanish of a century ago are the starving Spanish of today. The children trampled underfoot by the invader are the children starving all over Europe today as the result of another invasion. Goya recorded these horrors, then Picasso painted Guernica; there is no great artist that we know of now for the immediate horrors of today but recently, in these pages, we referred to the photographic work of Marie Therese Bonney and her pictures of the children of Europe will do very well until a great artist arrives. The more things change the more they are the same.

Is this true of "The Capriccios," "the Proverbs," "Miscellany"—those other Goya series in which it is the sick mind of man which dominates a desperate scene of cruelty and madness? Well, yes. Perhaps we are not today preoccupied with witchcraft. But that is merely a question of imagery. There are other evils, other cruelties, other oppressions. A first impression of Spanish strangeness, of alien horror which leaves us feeling safely remote as we look at page after page of these drawings, soon recedes and we find ourselves close again to the fear and presence of evil. Implicated once more in man's terror of the night. Even "The Art of Bullfighting," of which we know nothing, appears to us, as undoubtedly it appeared to Goya, a parade and dance of death.

The Inner Forum

The Popes on Interfaith Cooperation

TWO PAPERS on interfaith cooperation by Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., and John Courtney Murray, S.J., respectively, have been brought together in pamphlet form by the Catholic Association for International Peace. The pamphlet, "Intercredal Cooperation," is obtainable at CAIP headquarters, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.; it costs ten cents. It is based on articles which appeared in *Theological Studies* last summer.

Father Parsons in his paper deals primarily with the attitudes of recent popes towards interfaith cooperation. He begins with Leo XIII, who brought out in so striking a manner the fact that the Church believes that temporal matters are specifically within her province. Father Parsons is of the opinion that conditions in France led Leo to state this unequivocally. In addition to the famous *Rerum Novarum* of 1891, which initiated the modern Catholic approach to economic society, there was Leo's "Letter to the French" of the following year. This was an appeal to both Catholics and non-Catholics to collaborate in transforming French society in the interest of the common good. And it was followed several months later by a letter to the Bishop of Grenoble which contains the following significant statement:

> The great majority of France is Catholic, but among those who are not so fortunate, many in spite of all still retain a basically sound sense and a certain uprightness which we may call the attitude of the naturally Christian soul. Now this lofty sensibility not only attracts them to the good but inclines them to adopt it, and frequently this inner inclination, this generous cooperation, are a preparation for the appreciation and profession of the Christian truth. . . .

Father Parsons summarizes the attitude of Leo XIII as follows: "This was a reform which Catholics by themselves would be powerless to effect, since it involved the whole economic and social structure of the nations. He saw very clearly that unless they were able to win over the collaboration of men of good will with their naturally Christian soul in the pursuit of the common good, nothing very effective or concrete was ever going to be done."

Pius X was more interested in restoring the interior life of the Church, but it is worth noting that in his Encyclical Letter to the Bishops of Germany in September, 1912, the Pope recognized the need for cooperation between Catholics and non-Catholics in obtaining justice for the worker.

It was in the latter half of Pius XI's pontificate that the question of interfaith cooperation came to the fore. "For the first ten years Pius was most concerned with drawing tight the ranks of Catholics themselves" (Catholic Action, the Feast of Christ the King, laymen's retreats, Christian education, the Christian family) . Then came *Quadragesimo Anno* (on the Reconstruction of the Social Order). "He said himself that his call was to 'all men of good will' who would be willing to join with the pastors of the Church."

In 1937, in *Divini Redemptoris,* Pius XI deplored "the violence with which the powers of darkness are striving to pluck out of the hearts of men the very idea of God" and continued:

> We have high hopes that, with those who glory in the name of Christian, all those also—and they comprise the great majority of mankind—who believe in God and adore Him will effectively join. Renewing the invitation extended to them five years ago in our Encyclical, *Caritate Christi,* we urge them, each with his own contribution, to devote themselves to this cause.

Even more pronounced in his appeals to the non-Catholic world has been the present Holy Father, Pius XII. In the Christmas message of 1941, for instance, the Pope concludes with this blessing: "May Our blessing be also upon those who, though not members of the visible body of the Catholic Church, are near to Us in their faith in God and in Jesus Christ,and share with Us Our views with regard to the provisions for the peace and its fundamental aims."

At this point Father Parsons emphasizes the fact that the collaboration called for by recent popes lies in the

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temporal order. It is an appeal to all men to reconstruct the social order according to the law of God. It is a call to action. The author points out the contrast between cooperation for the specific purpose of reuniting Christendom and collaboration for the renewal of society.

As he sees it, the injustice, disorder and chaos in the world are so great that the first task is to renew society itself on the temporal plane. That in itself cannot be achieved except by joint action in the interest of the common good. Those collaborating in this great work are brought together by the attacks of the enemies of human society, but "the link that binds this body together is a common belief in God and a common love of His law."

Once the social conflicts that divide men are successfully resolved, then we can proceed to the question of the reunion of Christendom. Father Parsons says: "It seems to me that what the popes have been telling us all these years is that it is our duty to prepare for the coming of the religious union of mankind by first bringing about a union of wills on the natural plane. I cannot otherwise explain the extreme preoccupation of the popes with what must seem at first sight to be purely temporal and secular affairs . . ." It is worth noting that in his conclusion Father Parsons, in ascribing the Catholic motive for cooperation in these matters to Christian charity, declares that "we have to rid ourselves of that curious crypto-Calvinism which thinks that God gives His grace only to Catholics. . . . 'God's family' is truly the object of God's love and all those who believe in God are, as Pius XII calls them, peculiarly our brothers . . ."

★

John Courtney Murray, S.J., deals at some length in this pamphlet with principles of this interfaith cooperation. He begins by summarizing the unique task of our time: "the human person must be free from the present intolerable pressure of myriad institutional tyrannies, economic, social and political. . . . Its special uniqueness derives from the initial step that must be taken toward its achievement—not a winning of recognition for the spiritual authority of the Church, but simply a universal reinforcement of the primal law of human nature, the moral law of justice between men, sanctioned by the sovereignty of God . . ."

He, too, underlines the distinction between interfaith cooperation along these lines and interconfessionalism in religious belief and worship. He characterizes what the Church has to contribute as follows: "The spiritual contribution would be the holiness of her own members, a leaven operating in hidden supernatural ways. . . . The theological contribution would be her total doctrine of man, his personal and social nature, and his transcendent destiny, together with the insight that this doctrine gives into the causes of today's distress and disunity. . . . The programmatic contribution would be the social doctrine elaborated by a series of noble Pontiffs."

CONTRIBUTORS

Francis GABRIEL is the pen-name of a writer and labor man active in Jersey City. To use his real name would destroy his usefulness on the Hague scene.

F. W. FOERSTER is described at length in the editors' note preceding his article.

John C. CORT has spent the last several months in the hospital; he is now in better health and hopes to take a more active part on THE COMMONWEAL.

. . . And of the Breeze

". . . the real flowering of New England was that a poet could move among the cape jasmine, without pantheism or some such aberration, and bless herself in metaphor—

In the name of the bee

And of the butterfly

And of the breeze. Amen.

St. John Damascene would have liked that. "In the name of the bee," the Maker, Creator, Father; "And of the butterfly," Christ glorious, bursting from death's cocoon; "And of the breeze," the breath of God, the **dator munerum**, poetry's only Muse."

—**Alfred Barrett, S.J.**
in his Foreword to

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